



**End Israeli Occupation – Freedom for Palestine
Building a New Anti-Apartheid Movement
International Solidarity Conference**

Organised by the Palestine Solidarity Campaign (PSC)

6-7 October 2007

University of London Union (ULU), Malet Street, London

Introduction

The purpose of the conference was to explore methods of coordinating an effective campaign. It was to seek ways of collaborating, but not an attempt to develop a coalition of organisations. From the outset it was agreed that the basis of the campaign should be:

- Self-determinations for the Palestinians
- An end to occupation
- Dismantling of the Apartheid Wall and settlements
- Right of return of refugees
- Full recognition of the democratically elected Palestinian government
- The right for Palestinians to live peacefully without Israeli aggression
- The release of Palestinians prisoners
- Lifting of the siege on all Palestinians

The conference was attended by approximately 70 delegates representing organisations from 13 countries from North America, Europe, the Middle East and South Africa. Twelve delegates from Palestine representing organisations from across the political spectrum, grass root networks and non-government organisations (NGOs), were represented. These included Palestinians from the West Bank, Lebanon and Israel. Two delegates from Gaza were unable to attend due to travel restrictions, and they provided written speeches.

The working conference took place over two days. Two sessions took place on the first day; the first entitled 'Palestinian expectations of the international solidarity community and the campaign in 2008' and the second was on 'Key issues for solidarity in 2008'. During each, speeches by key note speakers were followed by discussion. The day ended with a very well attended public session.

During the second day, the delegates held their discussions in small working groups, focussing on campaign tactics. Their reports and recommendations were presented in the final plenary during the last session of the conference.

This report provides brief summaries of the speeches, followed by the outputs of each of the working groups. The discussion points made throughout the conference have been collated, summarised and listed at the end of the report, according to subject.

'Palestinian Expectations of the international solidarity community and the campaign for 2008'

Four speakers from across the Palestinian political spectrum spoke during this session. Ahmad Youssef, political advisor to Ismail Haniyeh was unable to attend due to restrictions on travel but sent a message to the conference with his thoughts on the issue. Asad Abu Shark, from al-Azhar University, was also unable to attend and his written speech was provided to the conference on Sunday. What follows is a summary of the expectations as presented during this session.

Professor Manuel Hassassian, Palestine Liberation Organisation, Ambassador to the UK:

End of occupation is the main aim. Assistance is needed from the international community to ensure that agreements do not collapse. This is not a humanitarian or security conflict, it is a political conflict requiring political solutions.

He called on the solidarity movement to –

- lobby their respective governments against the arms trade with Israel
- lobby against the provision of aid to Israel.
- campaign for the release of prisoners
- campaign for the implementation of all U.N. resolutions and the adherence to International Law
- campaign for the continuation of International Aid to the Palestinians
- campaign for respect for Palestinian Democracy and freedom of will, and to support the Palestinian Democratic State
- campaign for the dismantling of the settlements and the Apartheid Wall
- campaign for engagement in political negotiations because there is no military solution.
- build 'people to people' interactions and support Palestinian NGOs
- Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS): To work on building the boycott movement in addition to lobbying on divestment and sanctions.

Dr Mustafa Barghouti, Mubadara/ Palestinian National Initiative, General Secretary:

It must be remembered that the context in which the conference/meeting planned in November will be held is 60 years of ethnic cleansing. The meeting should be conditioned by four factors: complete suspension of settlement activities, discontinuation of the construction of the building the wall, cessation of considering Gaza a hostile area, and an end to the demand that the people under occupation be responsible for providing security to their occupiers.

Six propositions for joint work with international solidarity organisations were provided:

1. *The narrative*: to emphasise that the dispute is not between two equal parties but that there is an occupier and an oppressor on the one side and a victim of occupation and apartheid on the other.
2. *Trips to Palestine*: to organise visits, as the most effective way for people to see things as they are and to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinians in a peaceful and non-violent struggle. Send "multipliers" to Palestine (i.e. people who will be able to share widely what they have witnessed).
3. *Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS)*: to develop the boycott movement and to lobby for sanctions and divestment. Note that many countries are now importing military equipment from Israel. The psychological impact on Israel of BDS is tremendous.
4. *Democracy*: to emphasise the support for Palestinian democracy. Democracy will strengthen Palestinian unity.

5. *Coordination*: to develop coordination between the international solidarity groups and produce a mechanism that is flexible, effective and proactive rather than reactive, and not controlling but supportive. To have yearly forums to discuss different solidarity issues and a follow-up committee.
6. *Internal politics*: not to engage in internal Palestinian disputes or debates but rather to concentrate on the simple principles of the right to self determination, the right of return, unity and the end of occupation.

Dr Barghouti emphasised that for the conference to be successful, its recommendations have to be translated into a workable plan of action that would be used to launch the anti-apartheid campaign.

Mr Suheil Natour, El Hurriyeh, Editor (Lebanon):

Do not forget the refugees and the right of return are the main issue.

- The refugees: to campaign for the protection of the refugees in Lebanon and in Iraq and improve their living conditions.
- Right of Return: to uphold the right of return to Palestine and to fight attempts to resettle the refugees in other parts of the world.
- To provide for the displaced refugees of Nahr el-Bared.

He warned about the tendency to neglect the issue of refugees, of minimizing its importance, and postponing it to an undetermined future date.

Professor Sa'd Nimr, Campaign to free Marwan Barghouti and all Prisoners, Campaign Director:

Noted that, despite what it says, the US administration does not appear to want to see a Palestinian state, and that Israel appears to be above international law.

- *Raise the level of the campaign*: to strengthen the campaign, as so far, and despite all the atrocities committed by Israel, the solidarity campaign remains a relatively 'shy' one.
- *A case study as one column of the campaign, political prisoners*: to campaign for the release of the 11 700 prisoners, including Palestinian leaders, the democratically elected members of the Palestine Legislative Council, women and children that have lost all their rights as political prisoners. Issues of torture, use of administrative detention, arrest of children who are treated as adults under the law, use of military instead of civilian courts, were highlighted.

Dr Ahmed Yousef, Political Advisor to Ismail Haniyeh:

Dr Yousef was unable to attend due to the closure of the borders to Gaza. The Chair referred the delegates to his written message:

- *Trips to Palestine*: to send as many people as possible to witness the reality of the occupation.
- *The political prisoners*: to draw the attention of the world to the plight of the political prisoners, the leaders, the women and the children.
- *The Apartheid Wall*: to continue the campaign against the Apartheid Wall, highlighting the hardships it has caused and the land grab that goes hand in and with its construction.
- *The United States*: to raise awareness in the United States to counteract the effect of the Zionist lobby and to educate ordinary Americans about the plight of the Palestinians.

Dr Asad Abu Shark, Al-Azhar University, Academic, member of the International Committee for the Right of Return, Information Officer and Official Spokesman of the University Teachers Society

The speech was not provided to the conference until October 7th, and therefore was not presented at the panel. His speech echoed the calls of the other speakers for a call for BDS “as necessary to bring an end to Israeli genocide policies towards the Palestinian people”.

Key issues for solidarity in 2008

'Solidarity and Palestinian self-determination', Dr Karma Nabulsi, PSC Patron

Dr Nabulsi spoke of the need for unity as the essence of restoring the narrative against increased fragmentation. This narrative should be kept simple and focused on the central principles of self-determination, the right of return, protecting Palestinian democracy, liberation and freedom for all Palestinians, inside and outside Palestine. Karma emphasised the need to build on the enormous sympathy to mainstream the campaign, to multiply the work and to involve young people.

'Right of Return', Ingrid Jaradat Gassner, Badil Resource Centre, Director

Ingrid Jaradat recommended that the international solidarity movement invests effort in developing a systematic analysis of Apartheid (combined with colonization and occupation) in the context of Israel's regime over Palestinians, in order to make the struggle relevant to Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, refugees and Palestinian citizens of Israel, as well as a sound narrative for the Right of Return and the BDS Campaign. To achieve this, she proposed the following:

“It is my view that an Anti-Apartheid movement can be made relevant for Palestinian refugees and their right of return, if our argument is developed according to the following brief outline:

First, we examine existing international instruments on the crime of Apartheid, mainly: the International Covenant on the Suppression of the Crime of Apartheid, the Convention on the Elimination of the Racial Discrimination (CERD), and the Rome Statute (ICC);

Second, we find that Apartheid – roughly defined as legally sanctioned discrimination on grounds of race/nationality/religion – can be found in the entirety of Israel's legal/political/military regime over Palestinians irrespective of their current location (in the OPT, Israel or elsewhere). Some examples for indicators of Apartheid in Israel's regime, are:

in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT):

- the dual legal system applied to Jewish settlers (Israeli domestic law) and occupied Palestinians (Israeli military orders);
- the permit system which is applied and restricts movement of Palestinians only;
- segregation of the road system; etc.

in Israel:

- the dual legal system regulating citizenship and entitlements derived there from: the Law of Return (1950) conveys privileged citizenship and immigration to Jewish nationals, while the 1952 Citizenship Law denationalized (i.e. barred return of) Palestinian refugees of 1948 and conveys second-class citizenship to non-Jews (mainly Palestinians);
- Israel's land laws and land regime (including the JNF) which limits private land rights to the

benefit of the state/Zionist organizations and thereby de-facto discriminates against Palestinians (because Jews do not usually own private land); etc.

Third, from the above we can see that Palestinians in the OPT and Israel are affected. We also see that Israel's Apartheid regime strongly affects Palestinian refugees and their rights to return and housing and property restitution.

Fourth, since Apartheid is defined as a crime (a "crime against humanity" under the Rome Statute), identifying Israel's regime over Palestinians as an Apartheid regime strengthens Palestinian rights and claims, including the right of return of the refugees and provides the justification for isolating Israel, including through a BDS campaign."

'Anti Apartheid campaign', Na'eem Jeenah, Palestine Solidarity Committee (South Africa), Spokesperson

Na'eem Jeenah told the delegates that the notion of referring to Israel with apartheid terminology is not new but has been used for a while already. While it should be used as an instrument for publicity, it becomes much more relevant after careful research and analysis of the situation. From his personal experience and after visiting Palestine, apartheid similar to South Africa is what you observe inside Israel in the discrimination against Palestinians while Jews are privileged - as whites were privileged in South Africa. What is happening on the West Bank and Gaza is worse.

The struggle against Apartheid in South Africa had four pillars. These were: the armed struggle, the internal underground, internal resistance and the international solidarity movement. Analysts believe that the last two were the most effective in bringing down the apartheid regime, whilst the first two were largely symbolic. International solidarity and international isolation of Israel alone, however, will not end Israeli occupation and there is a need for the international solidarity movement to support the internal resistance including armed resistance, civil disobedience and passive resistance.

The pillar of international support in the struggle in South Africa took the form of the isolation of the Apartheid state through the boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign. The calls began in the 1960s but took on mainly during the 1980's. This was in a bipolar world where it was easier to leverage support for the third world. The case for Palestine is more difficult because we live in a unipolar world. However, it is now a globalised world where ideas travel fast, communication is easier and where the opportunity exists for resistance too to be globalised.

There is already a call from Palestinian civil society for a BDS campaign. The solidarity movement needs to respond to this call and network and coordinate its efforts. The campaign needs to be focussed and targeted. Also, the call from Palestinians needs to be strengthened. In particular, there should also be an unequivocal BDS call from Palestinian political formations.

Na'eem proposed that the International Coordinating Network on Palestine be the centre for coordination for the BDS campaign and the development of an international Anti-Apartheid Movement Against Israeli Apartheid.

Anti-Apartheid Campaign', Stop the Wall, Outreach Coordinator

Stop the Wall's outreach coordinator talked about the importance of the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) campaign as a tool for educating the public and also as a tool that could have economic leverage. The boycott has the capacity to make the local global but to make this really happening we need to build our networking and coordination capacity. Meetings and conferences are useful but they have to build on each other to effectively advance the BDS movement. When

deciding in your BDS campaign whether to go for “strong” targets which include everything Israeli, or just “soft” targets it is important to understand that “soft” target does not necessarily mean to constrain the issue of Palestine to Israeli crimes in the West Bank and Gaza. The CAIA campaign against a foundation supporting Jewish mercenaries to fight in the occupation forces, for example, exposes the essence of Israel’s racist and colonial set up but is at the same time a “soft” target.

She sees the BDS movement as having made encouraging breakthroughs during the past year. The progress at the unions in addition to the academic boycott, the joining of the global south and the calls from the US are evidence of this.

Palestine 48, the struggle inside Israel, Ameer Makhoul, Ittijah: Union of Arab Community based organisations, General Director

Ameer Makhoul told the delegates that the general situation in Palestine 48 is not encouraging. Israeli policies and strategies of constantly reworking the narrative and redefining national security are constantly undermining the Palestinian cause. The demographic issue remains at the top of the agenda while ethnic cleansing policies are geared towards having a state without Palestinians, the case of the unrecognised villages in the Negev being the most obvious. We only need to look at 22 racist laws of immigration, citizenship, land ownership and housing to define Israel as an apartheid state. Palestinians are displaced inside their own homeland. They are not allowed to go back to their villages or their property. They are considered a strategic threat. They are subject to systematic political persecution to stop any process of national building and to sever the link with the West Bank or Gaza and the diaspora. Any political link with Palestinians outside Israel could be criminalised (as was the case with Azmi Bishara and Sheikh Raid Salah of the Islamic movement).

The essence of Israel is the same on both sides of the Green line, in its ethnic demographic, racist and colonialist nature.

It is important for the solidarity movement to deal with issue of political persecution and to help in building awareness about Palestinians 48 as an integral component of the Palestine cause and Palestinian people rights

The year 2008 is the 60th anniversary of the Nakba and the Israeli creation of the problem of the refugees. The solidarity movement needs to focus on the responsibility of Israel. The right of return should be the focus and should never be compromised.

Solidarity movements as well as Palestinians should formulate a de-fragmentation vision and strategies, and must not operate within the forced fragmentation frame. There is a crucial need for clarifying a unified Palestinian narrative and to base it on justice and rights.

The boycott, divestment and sanctions strategies should address the whole Israeli system with military, security and civic components which are responsible for the injustice against Palestinians and part of the colonial racist Israeli Zionist enterprise. The international community should be addressed as responsible for the continuity of the Israeli aggression, occupation and apartheid system and practices.

Final Plenary

The delegates continued their discussions on specific campaign tactics in five working groups. Each workshop presented its report and recommendations as follows:

Trade Unions and academic boycott

- The TU/academic boycott working group reviewed the history of the Palestinian Trade Union movement and heard from the PGFTU representative about the acute challenges facing Palestinian workers.
- The PGFTU has reviewed relations with the Histadrut, which originally stemmed from the need to secure the entitlements of Palestinian workers in Israel pre-2000. Currently, the PGFTU relations with the Histadrut are frozen pending the latter taking a clear position on the Occupation.
- PSC (UK) trade unionists described the big changes which have occurred in the trade union movement including the successful adoption of a solidarity position by the trade union movement in 2006 which signalled a significant shift in attitude in a short period of time. They explained the educational work they were undertaking.
- Members of the working group expressed the view that a clear PGFTU position supporting the boycott would greatly strengthen the campaign. A paper calling for a boycott, signed by a representative of the PGFTU, was circulated to the group.
- The Canadian representative from CUPE reported on their boycott motion, which came from the grass roots, surprising even pro-Palestinians, but passed nevertheless near-unanimously despite being strongly worded.
- There was consensus that there is a lot of latent support for Palestine out there. Therefore, it was suggested to go forward with the campaign in the unions - people will get on board.
- Mention was made of ideas of twinning, disinvestment campaigns relating for example to pension funds and the call for an arms trade ban on Israel.
- Despite the setback regarding the academic boycott in the UK, it has raised the issue and put the opposition on the defensive - anti-boycotters are not prepared to debate as there are strong debaters in the pro-boycott camp.
- The strategy of BRICUP at this stage is not to launch any legal action but rather force the UCU leadership to disclose the alleged legal basis for the reversal of the motion.
- Individual campuses are also taking up the boycott (LSE) facing the expected hostility from pro-Israel lobby.

Parliamentary lobbying and sanctions workshop

- Greater coordination at the European and international level and exchanging information gathered from national partners in the different countries.
- Encourage visits of parliamentarians.
- Exchange information on how to lobby for a just peace.
- Meeting Palestinians outside the occupied territories such as members of the Knesset and representatives of the refugees.
- Campaign around the release of imprisoned parliamentarians.
- Campaign around the siege of Gaza.
- Grassroots lobbying bearing in mind those different approaches needed in different countries (Further discussion needed).
- Educating MPs, the parliamentary lobby day in the UK is November 28. The following year is to be dedicated to raising awareness.
- Campaigning against Israel entering OECD
- Preparing questions for MPs who are going to visit Israel – eg. Are you taking me to Hebron? to see settlements? to see the Apartheid Wall?

Divestment workshop

- Divestment is an effective and non-violent tool to bring humanitarian issues to the forefront.
- Churches in the US have led the way, with divestment having been started by one small church. The synod taking up the issue has had an impact far and above the resolution itself.
- Need to address churches (\$156bn pension funds in the US) and unions with large pension funds.
- There is a need to concentrate on a few companies to make a bigger impact. A lot of research has been conducted in the US (Caterpillar, Motorola) and in France (Veolia).
- The campaign "Hang up on Motorola" has been launched in the US. Motorola is a divestment target as well as a consumer boycott target.
- The campaign against Veolia is underway in France. It should be taken up in the UK as many local councils have contracts with it for waste disposal.
- Need a volunteer within each country to research the economic impact of the companies on the country so as to effectively disseminate information to trade unions and churches.

Consumer, cultural and sporting boycott workshop

The call for boycott has been very loud and very strong throughout the conference.

Clearing house:

- The need for a clearing house to disseminate information for boycott campaigns and to be a forum for networking. It is recommended that the new website www.bdsmovement.net become this clearing house.

Cultural boycott:

- Issuing a pledge for artists, to be circulated internationally, whereby they undertake not to tour in Israel, and not to deal with Israeli artistic projects that accept money from the Israeli government.
- To contact European artists planning to visit Israel to raise awareness and probe them to think.
- To challenge Israel's participation in the Eurovision song contest.

Sporting boycott:

- To follow-up on the progress of the Israeli team in the Euro 2008 football event and organise action if they compete in it.

Consumer boycott:

- The following were identified as targets: Carmel Agrexo, Eden Springs, Motorola, Nestle(?), Israeli diamonds.
- Carmel Agrexco was identified as a major target. It is the Israeli state agricultural company and is 70% owned by state. It is the symbol of agricultural colonialism and land appropriation. It is also a large exporter of settlement produce.
- There have been successful actions against Agrexo in the past in the UK. A report on the ramification of the Agrexo strategy is to be written so that activists may use it in their campaigns. Days of action should be planned in the period preceding Christmas and Valentine's as these are their busiest days.
- Organising pickets, writing consumer magazines and targeting Israel/ EU Association agreement, are examples of actions campaigners can engage with.
- Legal avenues should be explored
- Proposal to organise a one or two day conference on the boycott so that activists may coordinate and discuss strategies.

Activities in 2008 workshop

1. 60th anniversary of the Nakba: This is an overarching theme for raising awareness and building the anti-apartheid movement. It is not just a project or simply an issue of refugees. It is a theme that allows us to raise awareness for the whole narrative, starting with the Nakba, the refugees, the occupation and the ongoing displacement. BDS is to be considered part of it and must happen in this context.
2. Plan of action: The delegates endorsed the Call to Action by the International Coordinating Network on Palestine, Brussels 30 and 31 August 2007 to be launched on November.

The following recommendations were also presented:

- a. Educational visits to Occupied Palestine and Palestinians inside Israel in addition to visits to Palestinians in Syria, Lebanon etc.
 - b. Tours of Palestinian youth to Europe
 - c. Art exhibitions
 - d. Lobbying parliamentarians and educating them about the Nakba
 - e. Conduct creative direct actions to attract media and publicity, especially as we don't have the funds for professional PR firms
 - f. Rallies and public marches across the world on May 8, return march of displaced Palestinians inside Israel
 - g. Expose the Israel apartheid regime with respect to land and the Jewish National Fund (JNF)
3. Building the anti-apartheid movement
 - a. Set up a brief list of principles to be shared by the movement.
 1. Narrative emphasising the root of the problem as the Nakba
 2. The Right of Return
 3. The Anti-Apartheid movement
 - b. Give more recognition to and become more aware of the efforts of others. Learn from others.
 - c. It is important to give voice to Palestinians from the occupied territories, Palestine 48 and the refugees. International solidarity may have to take the lead when Palestinians cannot speak out freely.
 - d. To coordinate through the International Coordinating Network on Palestine (ICNP). The ICNP should be given the chance to take up this role and assessment should be carried out over a set period of time.
 - e. Coordination through a special forum on the internet with links to the websites of all the different organisations.
 - f. Circulating the report from this conference with contacts and emails.

Discussion

There were extensive discussions throughout the conference, reinforcing the speakers' recommendations and developing ideas as follows:

The crucial importance of promoting the Palestinian narrative

- The need to be ready to counteract the Israeli propaganda machine that will be pounding out the story of the glorious setting up of the state of Israel throughout 2008
- Remember the urgency of the matter in the light of the Israeli effort to liquidate the Palestinian issue
- Emphasise the responsibility of Israel, the Nakba did not just happen. We must emphasise the state of apartheid and use the term ethnic cleansing
- Highlight the responsibility of Israel for the problem of the refugees and the right of return

- To talk about *all* the Palestinian people and work with the Palestinian community in exile
- People engaged in the struggle that have the right to say when and how they will conduct it
- Publicise that the Palestinians are engaging in struggle and resistance. Bel'lin is one example of resistance, as is that of people travelling to Jerusalem every Friday for prayers
- Continue to explore the legal avenues to demonstrate how Israel is not complying with international law
- Expose the role of the US and the complicity of the European governments
- Highlight the fact that the security budget imposed on the Palestinians is paid for with international aid

Links with Palestine and Palestinians

- The solidarity movement is with the Palestinian people, so in terms of initiatives, any discussion should be conducted with all Palestinians in their totality. There are different voices and we need to respect them and bear them in mind when we work irrespective of who is in power
- There is a need for solidarity with Palestinians 48 who are also subject to an apartheid regime
- The need to support young Palestinians so that they can remain in Palestine was stressed
- When organising visits to Palestinians, ensure that the 'tourist' resources are not taken away by Israeli travel agencies. Make sure to ascertain how the visitors will use their knowledge in solidarity work on their return, so that they become 'multipliers'
- Trips to Palestine should also include the Galilee and Negev, and meetings with members of the Israeli peace movement
- We should develop and support the friendship and twinning links. Specific links can be fostered, such as the teachers and pupils in Camden schools in the UK
- The PGFTU is the internationally recognised body of Palestinian trade unionists and trade union leaderships abroad will relate through them. However contact with other organisations and grassroots trade unionists can be useful. Links between trade unions and their Palestinian counterparts, such as the Palestinian lecturers union and BRICUP are important

Boycott Divestment and Sanctions – a key tactic called for by the majority of civil society in Palestine

- We need to be focussed. Select one or two key targets, better for publicity and raising awareness than a larger number of less effective campaigns.
- Ask other appropriate activist organisations such as Stop the War to sign up to the boycott call
- Support PACBI's and BRICUP's campaign for the academic and cultural boycott. Learn the lessons from the academic boycott campaign – winning is not necessarily the most important outcome, but creating space for discussion is essential.
- The medical boycott has had some success in gathering support to isolate the Israeli Medical Association for its complicity with the occupation. The debate has been brought to the pages of important medical journals like the Lancet.
- On the cultural boycott we should encourage artists not to go to Israel, with a possible pledge campaign. But we need to support those engaged in pro- Palestinian cultural activities in Israel (eg. DAM and Israeli groups that take an anti-Zionist stand). There should be no confusion about not boycotting Israeli institutions that have proven records of being against the occupation,
- In Europe we should step up the campaign to end the EU / Israel Trade Agreement.
- End the Occupation campaign in the US have adopted resolutions to organise tours in the US for joint South African and Palestinian speakers and to launch the Motorola campaign linking consumer boycott and divestment.
- We should seek legal advice when producing documents, letter and pledges for the BDS campaign.

- To positively campaign to promote Palestinian products, such as Zaytoun olive oil in the UK. We should also campaign to free Palestinian agricultural produce, much of which is being destroyed because of the closures.
- A BDS local conference is taking place in Palestine during November. PNGO cannot shoulder travel expenses for participants but extends invitation to all the delegates attending this conference.

Campaigning for an international anti apartheid campaign for Palestine

- Remember to distinguish between strategy – building a campaign – and tactics.
- The anti-apartheid framework is important but it must always be remembered that the main goal is the end of occupation, the right to self determination and the right of return.
- Don't assume people are already knowledgeable of the issue. Given the media bias, many do not have sufficient information to take a stand on this issue, so education is crucial.
- Learn lessons from the history of other people's struggles like Vietnam and South Africa.
- We need to build broad alliances during the campaigns. Coordination with political movements across the world like the Anti War Movement is important. Work with churches and other faith groups as well as secular organisations.
- In a broad campaign there is not necessarily unanimity, e.g. some MPs are supportive on some issues, e.g. ending occupation but not on the right of return
- We should raise international law in a central way and focus on it in our campaigns.
- We need a rights based approach
- Solidarity organisations must avoid attempting to represent the Palestinian people.
- Scottish PSC (SPSC) is campaigning on the Jewish National Fund, especially since Gordon Brown has become honorary chair.
- If the next solidarity conference, with the participation of people like Tutu, Dugard and Carter, were held in Palestine it would be a huge symbolic event.
- We should bring the issue of the siege of Gaza to the forefront. Campaigns such as trapped students unable to return to their universities should be supported. International complicity in the impoverishment and the imprisonment of Palestinians should be addressed. We could use video links. A Voices from Gaza event following the November meeting in Washington, could allow people in Gaza to communicate their responses with people around the world including journalists and members of parliament. Scottish PSC is investigating this.
- There is a need for a clearing house for coordination. Regular meetings should take place to monitor progress.
- The need for clarity on an agreed strategy and the need for clear cut indicators to measure development and improvement would improve our effectiveness.
- We should try to ensure there is progression at international events – e.g. the Madrid forum.

Final remarks

At the close of the conference it was reiterated that the purpose of our meeting had been to explore ways of strengthening the international campaign for Palestine and Palestinians with our Palestinian colleagues at a grave period. The imminence of the November meeting which will probably seek to impose further limitations on Palestinian aspirations informed all of the debate.

No votes were taken as this was a working conference, but there was a commitment to continue to work together to build a mass international campaign using the ideas discussed. It was specifically agreed to request that the International Coordinating Network for Palestine undertake an active role in linking the work of the international groups through regular contact. Part of this should be periodic assessments of the momentum of the campaigns. It was agreed that the effectiveness of this be looked at in one year.

PSC undertook to make that request.

Note

For more information about the work of PSC please visit www.palestinecampaign.org
For further information about the follow up on outcomes of this conference, and for contact details for the organisations represented at the conference please contact info@palestinecampaign.org.

Annex 1

Agenda

Saturday 6 October

9.00 *Coffee and biscuits*

9.30 Welcome

Manuel Hassassian, Ambassador, Palestinian Delegation
Betty Hunter, General Secretary PSC

9.45 'Palestinian expectations of the international solidarity community, and the campaign in 2008'

Mustafa Barghouti
Suheil Natour
Sa'd Nimr
Ahmed Yousef

Chair: Betty Hunter

11.00 *Break*

11.20 Questions and discussion

1.00 *Lunch*

2.00 Key issues for solidarity in 2008:

'Solidarity and Palestinian self-determination', Karma Nabulsi
'Right of Return', Badil
'Anti apartheid Campaign', Palestine Solidarity Committee (South Africa) and Stop the Wall
Palestine '48, the struggle inside Israel, Ameer Makhoul

Chair: Bernard Regan, PSC

3.00 Questions and discussion

4.00 *Coffee break*

4.30 'Building a New Anti-Apartheid Movement' (public session)

Chair: Jeremy Corbyn, MP

Panel:

Mustafa Barghouti
Suheil Natour
Sa'd Nimer
Ingrid Jaradat
Iman Hammouri
Fathy Nasser
Ameer Makhoul
Na'eem Jeenah
Fathy Khdirat

7.00 Dinner

Sunday 7 October

9.30 Introduction

9.45 Working Groups:

- Boycott: consumer, cultural and sporting (Stop the Wall + PSC)
- Academic boycott (BRICUP)
- Divestment (End the Occupation + Badil + Amos Trust)
- Campaign in 2008
- Trade Unions (PGFTU + PSC + CAIA) and the Academic boycott (BRICUP)
- Parliamentary lobbying and sanctions (PSC)

12.00 Final plenary (including reports from working groups)

2.00 *Lunch*

Annex 2

Delegate list

Palestine

Palestine Liberation Organisation

Professor Manuel Hassassian, Ambassador to the UK

Husam Zomlot, Political Advisor

Asad Abu Shark, *Al-Azhar University, Professor of Linguistics (unable to attend due to travel restrictions)*

Dr Mustafa Barghouti, *Mubadara/Palestinian National Initiative, General Secretary*

Suheil Natour, *Ed Hurriyeh, Editor (based Lebanon)*

Professor Sa'd Nimer, *Campaign to Free Marwan Barghouti and all prisoners, Campaign Director*

Ahmed Yousif, *Political Advisor to Ismail Haniyeh (unable to attend due to travel restrictions)*

Badil Resource Center, Ingrid Jaradat Gassner, Director

Palestine Non-Governmental Organisations Network (PNGO)

Iman Hammouri, Steering Committee member

Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions, Fathy Nasser, Legal Advisor

Stop the Wall

Fathy Khdirat, Jordan Valley Field Worker

Ittijah: Union of Arab Community based organisations, Ameer Makhoul, General Director

Europe

European Jews for a Just Peace, Dan Judelson, Secretary (and Chair of JFJFP)

Palestinian Youth Network, Mjriam Abu Samra

Generation Palestine, Shireen Rashid

Belgium

Association Belgo-Palestinienne

Marianne Blume

Dominique Waroquiez

Canada

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Aslef, Gary Fabian

Britain's General Union (GMB), Evelyn Martin

British Muslim Initiative, Mohamed Sawalha

British Committee for Universities of Palestine (BRICUP)

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Liberal Democrats Friends of Palestine, Trevor Cope

Muslim Council of Britain, Dr Mohammed Abdul Bari

Nakba 60

Amjad Taha

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